

SOME

1475. 6. 68

THOUGHTS

Concerning the

PEACE,

AND THE

THANKSGIVING

Appointed by AUTHORITY to
be observed for it.

In a LETTER from an Elder to a
Minister of the Church of Scotland.

Dan. 8. 23, 24, 25. *A King of fierce Countenance shall stand up, and shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the Mighty, and the holy People; and through his Policy also he shall cause Craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnifie himself in his Heart, and by Peace shall destroy many, &c.*

1 Kings 20. 42. *Thus saith the LORD, Because thou hast let go out of thy hand, a Man whom I appointed to utter Destruction; therefore thy Life shall go for his Life, and thy People for his People.*

Isa. 22. 12, 13. *And in that Day did the LORD GOD of Hosts call to Weeping, and to Mourning, and to Baldness, and to Girding with Sackcloth: And behold Joy and Gladness, slaying Oxen and killing Sheep, eating Flesh and drinking Wine, &c.*

Acts 4. 19. *Whether it be right in the Sight of GOD, to hearken unto you more than unto GOD, judge ye.*

Printed for Robert Aldsworth near the Change. 1713.

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In a LETTER from the
General of the Church of Scotland.

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... the Lord, ...
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THOUGHTS concerning the Peace, &c.

S I R,

IN answer to your Desire, I send you the Reasons why
I cannot join in a Thanksgiving for the present Peace.

I have ranked them in three Classes: The First relates to what preceded the Negotiation.

The Second, to what accompanied them.

And the Third, to what has happened since the Treaty was concluded.

As to what preceded the Negotiations, you may remember as well as I,

1. That these, who cried out most against the Continuance of the War, were the professed *Jacobites* and such as are known to be Enemies to the *Revolution Principles*, upon other Accounts, to the Toleration in *England*, and to the present Establishment of the Church of *Scotland*. You know very well, that these sorts of Men redoubled their Clamours against the War, when they saw the Exorbitant Power of the Bloody House of *Bourbon* in hazard of being reduced, by the extraordinary, not to say miraculous Success, which GOD was pleased to grant to the Confederate Arms; while at the same time he afflicted *France* with Famine and pestilential Distempers. This was the State of Affairs, when the *French* Court agreed to the Preliminaries of 1709. which they perfidiously went off from, as was then declared by our Court, in Conjunction with the rest of the Confederates.

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2. You

2. You remember, no doubt, there were violent Suspicions then, that the *French Court* had Assurances of a Turn from some People here, which encouraged them to that Step; and there is little reason to question the truth of it, if you consider, 1. The Encouragement which the Queen and Parliament did own was given from hence to the Pretender's Invasion. 2. The open Resort and Familiarity betwixt Count Tallard and the Tories, while he was Prisoner at Nottingham. And, 3. The secret Conferences betwixt him and some Persons, that have since appeared for these Measures without a Disguise.

3. As it was not safe for the Leaders of the Faction to appear then, but under a Mask: You may remember, that they covered their Design with loud and repeated Clamours, that the Church of *England* and the Monarchy were in Danger by the last Ministry, which obliged both Houses of Parliament to vigorous Resolves against the Slander, and her Majesty to issue a Proclamation against the Slanderers, in order to bring them to due Punishment.

4. Notwithstanding this, the Faction went on, and by their Libels, Sermons, &c. poisoned the People to such a degree, that they raised a Rebellion against the QUEEN and Parliament, upon the Occasion of *Sacheverell's* being brought to Tryal for blackening the Revolution, and casting odious Colours upon the Instruments and Means that were made use of to bring it about.

5. You know very well, that the Ferment then raised in the Nation, was improved to the turning off the late Ministry and Parliament, contrary to solemn Promises both to the Confederates abroad and Subjects at home, who had contributed most to the carrying on of the War, which had raised the Glory of her Majesty's Arms to a Height unknown to the greatest of her Ancestors.

6. The Faction having carried their Point against the late Ministry and Parliament, you know how they libelled the *Revolution Principles* in their Addresses, set up the Hereditary against the Parliamentary Right of the Crown, charged those who were for the latter, as Men of Antimonarchical and Republican Principles, and advanced the old exploded Notions of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, contrary to the Declaration of Rights, and the Acts which settle the Protestant Succession; particularly, that which
absolves

solves us from our Allegiance to a King or Queen that is Papist, turns Papist, or marrys a Papist.

7. You know when the next Elections came on, what Tricks and other violent indirect Methods were made use of to get Men of Principles opposite to the Revolution, chosen; and how many such were brought in by those Practices, in manifest violation of the Fundamental Laws which secure the Freedom of Elections. I am sure you can't be ignorant, that in *Scotland*, whatever may be said of *England*, not a few who are known *Jacobites*, were prevailed upon, in order to serve a Turn, to take the Oath of *juramentum*, &c. that they might be qualified to sit in Parliament.

8. The Faction having got the Houses thus modelled, you know the Use they made of it was, to get the late Ministry accused and censured for having mismanaged the War, and particularly in *Spain*; without regarding any References or Petitions that were offered by the Earl of *Marlborough*, and others concerned, but relying on their Majority, carrying every thing they had a mind to, by putting the Question; and yet not thinking themselves secure, you know that by creating twelve Peers at a time, contrary to the Fundamental Constitution of Parliament, besides single ones which they made before and after, they became assured of a Majority in the House of Lords. And you may remember very well that upon every Vacancy which happened by the Death of a *Scottish* Peer, they took care to have *Jacobites* or others that were their Tools, chosen, or rather appointed, by the Government in the room of the deceased.

So much as to what preceded the Negotiations of Peace. But I must beg your Pardon for omitting some things, and anticipating others in point of Time, because they fell naturally in with my Subject.

Then, as to the second Class of what accompanied the Negotiations, I desire you to observe,

1. That notwithstanding the pretended Zeal of the Party to carry on the War in *Spain* with more Vigour than formerly, there was nothing effectually done for that end; but on the contrary, a very great Man who was sent thither on that Pretence, and whose Courage and Conduct

no Man will question, was far from being supported as ought to have been. You know also, that as soon as *Charles* was chosen Emperor, there was such a visible Turn in the Publick Measures for restoring the *Spanish* Monarchy and the *West Indies* to the House of *Austria*, that speedily heard of private Negotiations, carried on between our Court and *France*, without the Knowledge or Consent of the other Confederates, contrary to the very Letter of the second Grand Alliance and Posterior Treaties.

2. You can't have forgot, that when the Emperor's Minister, the Count de *Gallas*, had discovered those private Transactions, he was publicly disgraced by our Court and the Preliminaries agreed on betwixt them and *France* were at the same time published, to the no small Amusement of the Nation, and the whole Confederacy.

3. It is well enough known, notwithstanding these manifest Signs of an extraordinary Endearment betwixt our Ministers and *France*, they did not think fit, as yet, publicly to own the Design of abandoning *Spain* and the *West Indies* to the House of *Bourbon*, contrary to the Publick Faith of Treaties; so that her Majesty was pleased to declare in Parliament. That she wondered how any body could suppose, that she would not do her utmost to have *Spain* and the *West Indies* restored to the House of *Austria*.

4. When the Managers found things grow ripe for the Purpose, then they pressed for a Congress with the *French* at *Utrecht*, which very much disgusted the whole Confederacy, who protested against it.

5. You may remember, the *Dutch*, in particular, being earnestly pressed to it, both by Threats and Promises, in a very pathetick manner represent the danger of it to her Majesty: but our Managers being deaf to all Representations of that nature, it had no Effect.

6. The next Step they took, was by investive and ill grounded Libels, to possess the Nation and Parliament with an Opinion, that the Power of the House of *Austria*, possessed of the Empire and *Spanish* Monarchy, would become more Exorbitant and Dangerous than that of *Bourbon*.

7. You must needs also remember, that when the Elector of *Hanover* did, as a Prince of the Empire, and as a Prospective Heir by Parliamentary Entail to the Crown of

ertain, give in a strong, but modest Memorial, desiring that the Emperor and others of the Confederates should be heard as to what they had to say, against the treaty proposed; the said Memorial was not only disregarded, but his Minister affronted, and his Succession openly written against, by the Author of *The conduct of the Alliance*.

The Dutch continuing firm to the other Confederates, the main, tho they had agreed to a Congress, contrary to the Mind of the Emperor and Empire, you know what clamour was raised against them, as having been defective in their Quotas, for Men, Money, and Ships; and obliging their Conquests at our Expence, to the manifest danger of our Safety and Trade; in both which respects they were given out to be more formidable Enemies than the French; and you know well enough what Reflections were cast upon them in point of Religion and Politicks, as irreconcilable Enemies to the Church of England, and Monarchy.

What Influence these Calumnies had in the House of Commons, where the Dutch were found guilty of the Delinquencies, &c. charged upon them, without a Hearing; that when they gave in a Memorial in their own justification, it was not only disregarded by the Managers, censured by the Commons, and the Printer of it imprisoned by their Order.

The other Allies fall under the like Charge of Delinquency, &c. and were as virulently persecuted by Libels, as the French Court had been absolute Masters of the Press.

You may likewise remember, that the Treaty of Barrier Succession, concluded by her Majesty's Command, between Us and the Dutch, was arraigned, together with the Ministers who transacted it, and highly censured, as injurious to the Honour, Safety, and Trade of England. You may likewise how the Dutch were managed by Threats and Promises to come to a new Treaty on those Heads; whether the latter be better than the former with respect to the Succession, you may judge for your self, by comparing them together. And I doubt not but you remember very well from the publick Accounts of that year, what Difficulties the States met with, in getting some

some Ambiguities removed, which seemed to bear hard on the Succession.

12. It is but too well known, that the Duke of Marlborough's wonderful Success against France, made him the great Eye-fore of the French Court, and of our British Tories and Jacobites, and that the Success of his last Glorious Campaign, tho' he was encompassed with Difficulties, that seem'd to be insuperable, did so stun the French and their Friends, that his Disgrace and Ruin was labour'd with the utmost Industry.

13. You may remember, that in order to effect it, he was publickly libelled, as having continued the War with no other View, but to aggrandize himself and his Friends with a Design to usurp the Throne, or to make himself Head of a Republick, as *Oliver* had formerly done. But these Accusations against him, were so incoherent and contradictory, and his Grace's Conduct had been so frequently approved by Her Majesty, Her Parliaments, and Her Confederates, that the Charge would not take.

14. This obliged the Faction to have Recourse to another Engine; which was to charge the Duke, and his Friends, the late Ministry, with having plunder'd the Nation of Millions; and that his Grace in particular, had applied a vast Sum of the Publick Money to his own private use, and robb'd the Army of their Bread and Pay, &c. But you know, there was no real Ground for all this Noise and Calumny against his Grace, and the rest of the late Ministry. And therefore you are not to wonder, that no Answer has been return'd to the respective Vindications on that Head, and that as no Prosecution was ever begun against the rest of the late Ministry, for these pretended Embezzlements, that against the Duke, whose chief Crime was, that he employ'd the secret Service-Money, as well as the Army, commanded, too effectually against France, is now dropp'd.

15. The Faction however gain'd thus much by it, that the Duke was disgraced, and turned out of his Command, wherein he was succeeded by another, from whom they were promised wonderful Achievements; but that no such thing was ever design'd, the Event it self does more than sufficiently declare.

16. It is too recent to be forgot, That the Dutch, and our other Confederates, had repeated Assurances from the

Court, and from the new General, that the War should be carried on with Vigour against *France*, if *Lewis XIV.* did not submit to such a Peace, as might satisfy them according to their just Pretensions and Treaties; but how well that was performed, let the subsequent Declarations of our Ministers at the Treaty, and the Conduct of our General, when he abandoned the Allies in the midst of the Enemy's Garrisons, by which they were expos'd to the fatal Misfortune at *Denain*, testify.

17. I suppose you can't have forgot the two Protestations in the House of Lords, upon the above-mention'd Conduct of our Plenipotentiaries and General, and in what lively Expressions the protesting Lords set forth the mischievous Consequences of a separate Peace, and of the other Measures that have since happened.

18. I am sure you cannot have forgot, with what strong Asseverations a separate Negotiation was then denied, and by what hard Names, such as Villainous, Knavish, &c. a separate Peace was then called by a very great Man, who nevertheless has not been able to bring about any other.

19. I need not recount to you the Particulars of the Conduct of our Ministers at the Treaty, since the fatal Action at *Denain*; how all our Confederates have been Bullied, and their Auxiliary Troops treated as Mutineers, because they would not follow the Orders of our General, contrary to the Commands of their own respective Princes, and the Letter of Treaty.

20. You must needs remember, That our Allies in general complain'd of the Conduct of our Plenipotentiaries, as being more like Ministers of *France*, than those of *Great-Britain*.

21. Nor is it requisite to put you in mind, how the Influence of the *French* came to such a Height by the Concurrency of our Managers, that they insulted the *Dutch* in their own Country, and made them Disgrace the brave Count *de Rechteren*, one of their chief Plenipotentiaries, by way of *amende Honorable*, to saucy *French* Lacquies who were chastised by his Footmen, because they insulted him, and another of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, upon the Defeat at *Denain*.

22. In short, That by Bribes and Threats the *Dutch* have been forced to joyn against their Interest and Incligation, if

we may believe the last Petition of their Council of State, &c. in a separate Peace with *France*, if we may be allowed to call that a separate Peace, which is exclusive of so Great and so Honourable a Part of our Allies, as the Emperor and the Empire. You know very well that *France*, instead of the reasonable Demands to which they were justly entituled by Treaties, grew more upon them every Day, which has reduced them to the melancholy Necessity of maintaining a War alone against the united Power of *France* and *Spain*, supported by the Treasures of the *West-Indies*; and by the Favour of our Managers, who instead of giving them that Assistance, which was due to them by Treaty, seized and garrisoned the Emperor's Towns of *Ghent* and *Bruges* in the *Netherlands*, which was an effectual Curb in the Jaws of the *Dutch*, and with the other Steps of our Conduct above-mention'd, brought them under a Necessity of complying with our Demands, or of being in all human Appearance, unavoidably ruined.

23. I know you are too much concerned about the Protestant Religion, to forget how the Interest of the once Famous Protestant Church of *France* has been scandalously neglected, and the Right of the *British* Crown to be Guarantee of the Edict of *Nantes*, has been dishonourably given up in the present Treaty: Instead of which, those Glorious Confessors are put off with a faint Request by us, and the rest of the Protestant Princes and States, That such of them as are confined to Gallies, and other Prisons, may be set at Liberty: Whereas GOD had put it in the Power of Her Majesty, and the rest of the Protestant Confederates, to have commanded the Re-establishment of the Edict of *Nantes*, by which the *French* Protestants would have been set upon an equal foot of Civil and Religious Liberty with the *French* Papists, had they not been ingloriously deserted.

24. This Neglect is so much the more heinous, 1. Because the Guarantee of that Edict was expressly stipulated betwixt the Crown of *France*, and King *Charles I.* to whose Memory, as a Martyr for the Church of *England*, our present Ministry pretend to pay so much Respect. 2. Because King *William*, of Glorious Memory, did positively assert his Right to be Guarantee of that Edict at the Treaty of *Reswick*, though his Circumstances, and particularly the Stubbornness of the present Governing Faction, render'd him
unable

unable to carry on the War, and, by Consequence, to make good his Claim.

25. But we are not to wonder at the Conduct of the Faction towards Protestants Abroad, since they make it their Business to bear down the greatest and the sincerest Part of the Protestants at Home. This cannot be doubted, if we consider, 1. How they rail upon, and vilify even such of the High-Church of *England* Party, who are known to be against the Pretender, and oppose their present Measures for Aggrandizing *France*, at the Expence of the Liberties of *Europe*, and of the Protestant Religion, 2. If we consider how they run down, and oppress, and turn out of all Civil and Military Posts, those of the Church of *England*, who are called *Low-Church-Men*, because they are against Tyranny in the State, against Persecution in Church, and for Toleration to *Dissenters*. 3. If we consider the Conduct of the Faction, with respect to the *Dissenters* in *England* and *Ireland*, whom by their Sacramental Test, &c. they have deprived of their Birth-Right, as Native Subjects, and made them incapable of Civil or Military Posts, contrary not only to the Rules of Christianity, but to the Fundamental Laws of *England*, where nothing can deprive a Man of his Birth-Right, or make him incapable to serve his Country in a publick Post, but what attaints his Blood, or poisons him with the Principles of *Popery*, which are unsafe for a Protestant Government, and indeed for all Human Society. 4. If we consider the Conduct of the Faction, with respect to the Church of *Scotland*, which, though secured by the particular Laws of this Nation, confirmed in the Treaty of Union, they have, contrary to that Treaty, and repeated Promises of their chief Leader, attacked, by the Toleration and Patronage Acts, and forced the *Scots* Troops in *England* and *Ireland* to conform to the Church of *England*, or otherwise turned out, and oppressed them, of which the late cashiering of our best Regiments, under Whig Commanders, is a speaking Instance, not to be contradicted.

This is more than enough for the things that accompanied the Negotiations of Peace : But there are one or two things more, which I cannot omit. The first is, what relates to the Succession, as establish'd by the Laws of *Great-Britain*, in the Protestant Line of *Hanover*. I have already taken notice, how the Treaty betwixt us and the *Dutch*, for the

Guarantee of that Succession was arraign'd by the Author of *The Conduct of the Allies*, the Oracle of the present Managers, who expressly asserted again and again, that it might be necessary to set aside that Succession, and therefore he objected against the Treaty, as putting it out of our Power, without consent of the *Dutch*: 'Tis further to be observ'd, that by the new Treaty, the *Dutch* are not to send their Ships and Troops to maintain the said Succession, except they be called for by *England*, which leaves a dangerous Gap that was not in the first Treaty, since it is not impossible that the Pretender may get Possession by Force, or by Fraud, and in that case, the *Dutch* Quota's cannot be demanded by Authority from *England*. This leads me naturally to observe these Words in the 4th Article of the present Treaty of Peace, as we have them in the Abstract of the said Treaty, Printed by *Midwinter*, viz. *That for cutting off all Occasions of Distrust, which might at any time arise from the established Right and Order of the Hereditary Succession to the Crown of Great-Britain, &c.*

It is certain, That the Words *Hereditary Succession* are not in the Laws which settle the Entail of the Crown of *Great-Britain*, since the Revolution; therefore, considering the common Sense in which those Words are understood by our *Tories* and *Jacobites*, in their late Addresses, that were pointed expressly against the Revolution Settlement, which preferred King *William* to Her present Majesty, notwithstanding Her being nearer in Blood: The very using of these Words, I say, looks as if there were room left for such another Chicane and Knavish Distinction betwixt the Letter and the Spirit of that Treaty, as the *French* made use of, to elude the Treaty of Partition. It signifies little to object, that the Limitation of our Crown by the Laws of *Great-Britain* to the Protestant Line of *Hanover*, is owned in the same Article; and the *French* King there obliges himself, his Heirs and Successors, never to own any other to be King or Queen of *Great-Britain*, but according to the said Limitation; for we know very well, that our *Jacobites*, who are the *French* King's best Friends, deny any thing to be Laws of *Great-Britain* that has been enacted since the Revolution. It had therefore been an Argument of greater Sincerity both in their *French* King, and in our Managers, had he in express Terms disowned any Title, Right, or Claim in the Pretender

order to the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. This be-
 as the more obliged to do, because he not only gave him-
 self these Titles himself, but induced his Grandson the King of
 Spain to do the like, which is assigned as one of the princi-
 pal Causes of Her Majesty's making War upon *France* and
 Spain, as appears by Her Declaration.

Besides, it's very well known, That the *French* King so-
 lemnly promised to the late King *James*, on his Death-Bed,
 that he would maintain his Son's Title, and the whole
 Royal Family of *France* declared the like in Council, which
 we find by the *Memoirs* of the Chevalier de St. *George*,
 has been since ratified by the Pope. Therefore, it had been
 not just, that the *French* King, the King of *Spain*, and all
 the Family of *Bourbon*, should have expressly renounced the
 Pretender's Claim, and all the open or secret Promises they
 have made to abate it, for there may be a secret and reveal-
 ed Will in *France*, as elsewhere; against which we ought to
 be secured, as well as against all mental Reservations and Pa-
 pal Dispensations, which allow Papists to break Faith with
 those they call Hereticks, according to the Determination
 of the Council of *Constance*, in the Case of *John Hus* and
 the *Bohemians* of *Prague*.

But we are not to wonder at the Neglect of our Managers
 in this Matter, since by their Influence, a Negative passed in
 the House of Commons, upon a Proposal made by Mr.
Amberden, that all the Confederates should be invited to be
 Guarantees of the Protestant Succession in the House of
 Commons; which Negative was so much the more remarka-
 ble, because Her Majesty had promised in Her Speech, that
 the Confederates should be invited to be Guarantees of
 the present Treaty.

It is also observable, That in the fifth Article of the pre-
 sent Peace, the Words are, That the most Christian King, and
 his Heirs, &c. will never disturb the Queen of Great-Britain,
 or her Heirs and Successors, descended from the foresaid Protestant
 King, who possess the Crown of Great-Britain. This is so lyable
 to a Chicane, since none of those Heirs and Successors do
 now possess the Crown of Great-Britain, that one would
 wonder how our Managers could pass it, without some
 such Amendment as this, Who shall, or ought to possess the
 Crown of Great-Britain, and Dominions thereunto belonging, ac-
 cording to the several Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of
 his

his late Majesty King William, and of her present Majesty Queen Anne, for settling the Succession to the Crown in the Protestant Line of the House of Hanover. The latter part of the said fifth Article is yet more defective, for it is there said, Neither will the foresaid most Christian King aid by Land or Sea, other Persons, who should hereafter endeavour to oppose the said Succession, either by open War, or by fomenting Seditions, and forming Conspiracies against such Prince or Princes who are in Possession of the Throne of Great Britain. Here there is no Obligation, that the French King's Heirs and Successors shall not give Aid by Sea or Land, to such as endeavour to oppose the said Succession; which must be owped to be an Omission of very dangerous Consequence.

Besides, we don't hear of any Articles with the Elector of *Bavaria*, to prevent his assisting the Pretender, which he may easily do, if he continue Master of that part of the *Netherlands* which is assigned him by the Treaty, till the Emperor give him the Satisfaction which *France* demands for, as the Emperor is not like to grant it, unless he be forced by extreme Necessity, there is no Provision made, by any thing that appears in the Abstract of the Articles, That the French King shall not assist the Elector with Troops, or that the Elector shall not make use of those Troops to assist the Pretender by way of Reprisal upon the Elector of *Hanover*, who by the Constitution of the Empire, as well as by his own Interest, is obliged to join in the War against *France* and the Elector of *Bavaria*.

But allowing the fourth and fifth Articles of the said Treaty betwixt us and *France*, relating to the Succession to be good in Form; we have no other Security for the performance, than the French King's Word; and how little that is to be rely'd on, is but too evident from his Breach of all the Treaties that ever he made. To instance but in one, he gave a much stronger and more solemn Assurance, by the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*, That he would neither directly nor indirectly give the least Assistance to the *Portuguese*, in the War against *Spain*; Yet at the very same time he swore to the Treaty on the Altar, he designed to break it; and not only assisted the *Portuguese* under-hand, but entered into a private Treaty with them against *Spain*, which was afterwards made publick to the World. Besides, we hear of no manner of Security, that King *Philip* of *Spain*, and his Heirs

Successors. shall not assist the Pretender; nor yet of any from the Duke of *Savoy*, and his Heirs and Successors, which one would wonder should not have been demanded, since every one knows, that a Protest was offered in the House of Lords, in Name of the said Duke, against the Settlement of the *Hanover* Succession, and the passing by of his Family.

All these Princes are so much obliged to our Court, for taking care of their Interests in the present Treaty, that certainly they could never with any tolerable Grace have refused what Security we should have demanded of them in that respect; which very much aggravates the neglect of doing it; and so much the more, that the House of *Savoy* is next in Blood, as they believe, to the Pretender; and therefore are very likely to assist him in his Claim, because it paves the Way for their own; and herein we are not to doubt, that both the Branches of the House of *Bourbon* will send the *Savoyard* their Assistance, for the sake of their own Posterity, by the Duke's two Daughters, who are next in Claim after their Brother the Prince of *Piedmont*, and his Heirs.

From all this, I think there is reason to conclude, that our Protestant Succession is far from being secured by this Treaty; and that since the Proposal, that all the Confederates should be Guarantees for it, was rejected in the House of Commons, it is too strong a Presumption, that those by whose Influence that Negative was carried, never designed that the *Hanover* Succession should be effectually secured.

The Security given by the fourth Article, that the most Christian King, and his Heirs and Successors, will take care that the Pretender shall never return into the Kingdom of *France*, or the Dominions thereof, is much too short of what the Importance of the matter requires, and can scarce be said to be fulfilled by the Pretender's retiring to *Bar-le-Duc*, since every one knows that the *French* King looks upon the Duke of *Lorrain*, in whose Country that is, to be his Vassal, and made him do Homage accordingly. It is also but too well known, that the Passage which the *French* King has reserved to himself, for his Armies to march through *Lorrain*, gives him an Opportunity to make himself Master of that whole Country when he pleases, as he has formerly done.

done; so that all this being considered, and that *Bar-le-Dub* is so near the Frontiers of *France*, the Pretender is as really under his Protection, as when at *St. Germain's*; and by the Care the *French King* has taken to obtain a safe Conduct for him from the Emperor, it is but too plain, that he designs to reserve him for some important Occasion. The softness of the Expressions made use of in relation to the Pretender, in the said Article, is also remarkable; and particularly, *that he is said to be lately gone of his own accord out of the Kingdom of France, to reside in some other Place.* Why all this Tenderness to one who stands attainted as an Impostor and Usurper by the Laws of *Great Britain*? There are those who remember the Time when his pretended Uncle and Father were commanded to depart the Dominions of *France* by *Lewis XIV.* at the Instance of the Usurper *Oliver*; whereas this Foundling must have the Compliment paid him, That he retired of his own accord to some other Place; as if the *French King* was loath to discharge him his Dominions, or knew not whether he is gone; tho every one knows, that he both appointed his Place of Residence, and allows him a Maintenance more fit for a Prince, than an Impostor; but whether it be of his own Money, or of ours, may come to appear hereafter, when the Real Plunderers of the Nation shall be called to an Account. In the mean time, if we consider the Pretender's late Letter to the *French King*, and his Protest against the Treaty before he left *France*, it may be said, without straining the Point, that he was treated much too softly; and that those who drew up, or consented to the said Articles, have not exceeded in their Care for her Majesty's Honour and Safety, or for the Security of the Protestant Succession.

The second thing to be taken Notice of, and then I shall quit this Head, is the 6th Article of the Treaty; which owns, *That the Security and Liberties of Europe could by no means bear the Union of the Kingdoms of France and Spain under one and the same King.*

To me it appears, that this Concession implys a great deal more than the Framers of the Treaty would have it be thought to do. We remember very well, when our Court, as well as the rest of the Confederates, did expressly declare

declare it to be their Sentiments, That the Duke of *Anjou's* possession of the Crown of *Spain*, was the same thing as if it were possessed by *Lewis XIV.* &c. We don't yet see any Reason why they should have changed their Opinion; for it is evident, even from the Treaty it self, and the whole management of it, that *Lewis XIV.* does as really govern *Spain*, as he governs *France*. There is nothing to be objected against the like Dependency of the Crown of *Spain* on that of *France* for the time to come, but the Renunciations: To which we may easily reply, That the World is sufficiently apprised of the little Strels there is to be laid on French Renunciations. *Lewis XIV.* himself, in his large Manifesto, when he first invaded the *Netherlands*, condemned his own and his Queen's Renunciations of *Spain* and its Dominions, to be contrary to the Laws of *GOD*, Nature and Nations; and particularly to those of *France*, which he alledged, made those Renunciations void in themselves. It was upon this Principle that he then invaded the *Netherlands*, as he has since done the whole *Spanish Monarchy*. Then let his Advocates give us a Reason, if they can, why the present Renunciations should be more valid or better kept than the former. The *C. de St. Luck*, the French King's Ambassador to the *Swiss Cantons*, told them in his Speech about 2 Years ago, That Princes are no longer obliged by their Treatys, than they find their Conveniency in them. This is the Spirit which has always made War upon the Letter of the French Treaties; and why the *House of Bourbon* should not be *Semper Eadem*, as well as any other, in Breach of Treaties, let them who are able, give us a Reason.

But allowing for Argument's sake, that these last Renunciations shall be inviolably kept, and that neither of the Branches of the *House of Bourbon* shall lay claim to the Throne of the other, but shall act, contrary to their Principle and Interest, by a religious Observance of the Letter of the Treaty; it is evident notwithstanding, that the *Spanish Branch* must constantly depend on that of *France*, for Protection against the Claimants of the *House of Austria*, which will always give the King of *France* such an ascendant over the King of *Spain*, as a Sovereign has over his Vassal; and the Branch of *France* will be sure to keep such Pledges in their own Hand, as may secure the Dependency of the *Spanish Branch* upon them, till *France* be reimbursed

her Charges for setting that Branch on the Throne of *Spain*, which is not like to be done in this, or the next Century. So that all these things being considered, I think it very demonstrable, that the Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* are not so much disunited by this Treaty, as to provide for the Security and Liberties of *Europe*; But that on the contrary, there is such an Union established betwixt them, as the said Security and Liberties can by no means bear.

I come now to the third Class of Reasons, which arise from what has happened since the Treaty was concluded; wherein I must beg leave to make some Observations from things that preceded it.

1. It's undeniable, that the Emperor and Empire have refused to come into the Treaty, because of the Hardships put upon them by the French.

2. It is as evident, that the Emperor and the Empire complain of their being deserted by their Allies, contrary to the express Articles of the second Grand Alliance, and of the Treaties since concluded with *Savoy* and *Portugal*; by which we in particular were obliged to continue the War till *Spain* and the *West Indies* should be restored to the House of *Austria*, according to the Articles of the said Treaties.

3. It is evident, that the House of *Austria* can prove this from the Treaties themselves, which were entred into, and approved by consent of several Parliaments, as appears by the said Treaties, and the repeated Addresses of both Houses. To which they add, that these Treaties were confirmed again and again, by her Majesty's repeated Promises from the Throne, as well as by Word of Mouth, Letters, and other Assurances to the Emperor, and his Ministers.

4. They urge, that our Government, and the other Confederates, were not under the least Necessity of going back from those Treaties and Promises, since GOD had so blessed their Arms, that they had all humane Reason to expect, that *France* must have comply'd with the Terms which the Allies had stipulated to obtain for the House of *Austria*, and the Empire.

5. It can't be deny'd, that by the Unfaithfulness of our Managers, the Emperor and the Empire are reduced to the fatal Necessity of maintaining the War alone against *France* and *Spain*; and if they should fall under the Weight of it,

as in all probability they must; considering that *France* alone, not only without, but contrary to *Spain*, did maintain a War so long against all the Confederate Powers, the Ballance of *Europe*, which by this Treaty is alledged to be preserved, will intallibly be destroyed, and all Chrillendom must submit to the Yoak of the House of *Bourbon*.

This is enough in general, to shew the bad Consequences of this Treaty, which will still appear in a clearer Light, by the following Particulars.

1. That the Protestant Interest in the Empire is in great Hazard of being destroyed by it; for the Princes and Countries of our Communion on the *Rhine*, and in the Circle of *Swabia*, &c. lye next to the Danger of being invaded by *France*, as they have already suffered most by her Arms.

2. If once they come to be subdued, the Protestant Dominions of the Families of *Hefs*, *Brandenburgh*, *Saxony* and *Brunswick*, which make the Strength of the Protestant Interest in *Germany*, are like to be the next Objects of *French* Fury and Rage, animated by the Bigottry of the House of *Bourbon*, who are the sworn Enemies of the Protestant Religion; and have long been engaged in a Design, to root out what they call the *Northern Heresie*. No body can doubt of this, who has read the blasphemous Panegyricks of the *French* Clergy to *Lewis XIV.* whose former Successes they ascribed to his Zeal against the Reformation; and there is no doubt, but they will now ascribe the Retrieval of his Affairs, which they themselves thought desperate, to the same Cause.

3. We shall still see more Reason to be dissatisfied with the present Peace, when we consider the Danger to which the illustrious House of *Hanover*, which under *GOD*, may justly be accounted the plight Anchor of our Hopes, is thereby exposed.

It is evident, that the Elector must share of the same Fate with the Emperor and Empire: He is by Duty, as well as Interest, obliged to concur with them in the present War; so that he cannot draw back, his Circumstances are made such by the Entail of the Crowns of *Great Britain* upon his Family, that he is thereby become the principal Object of the Hatred of the Courts of *France* and *St. Germans*, and of all their Adherents in the *British* Dominions. They have given sufficient Demonstration of their implacable Malice against

against them; not only by the Measures above mention'd, which tend to set aside his Succession, but by bringing the *Swedes* into the Empire, and within an Ace of invading his Hereditary Dominions, had not the Divine Providence, by in'atuating Count *Steinbock* warded off the Blow. We are not to doubt but the *French* Court, and their *British* Faction, will pursue their Malice against the Elector to the utmost, for the following Reasons. The *French*, because they know that if ever he come to the Throne of *Great-Britain*, he will be more capable than any of our Sovereigns have ever yet been, of holding the Ballance of *Europe* in his Hands, and by Consequence, of baffling the Designs of *France*, to obtain the Universal Monarchy. Their *British* Faction, because if once the Elector ascend our Throne, they must bid Adieu for ever to all their Hopes about the Pretender, for whom they have done enough to forfeit their Lives and Estates to the Justice of our Laws.

Is it not then a melancholy Consideration, that by the Treachery of our Managers, a Family upon whom the Liberties of *Europe*, and the Safety of the Protestant Interest does chiefly depend, under GOD, should be thus exposed to almost unavoidable Ruin?

4. It is likewise proper to observe in this place, that by the 26th Article, as exhibited in the Abstract, the King of *Sweden*, with his Kingdoms, Dominions, Provinces, and Rights, are in the best manner included in the present Treaty. What Reason can there be assigned for this Article, but the Attachment of that Prince to the Interest of *France*, and the Diversion which he has already given, or may still be supposed capable of giving, to the Confederate Arms? Every one knows, that he had the Ballance of *Europe* once in his Hands; and if he had joyned the Confederates when he came into *Germany* with his Triumphant Army, he might have put an End to the War, and secured his own Pretensions in a much more compendious, as well as effectual manner, than now he can hope for.

What else can we understand by this Article, but that it is big with a new War, wherein *Great-Britain* must concur with *France*, if that Prince be not satisfied, as to all the Rights, Dominions and Provinces, which his Enthusiastical Fancy may induce him to claim from the Emperor and Empire? If this be not the case, Why is he included in such a distin-

distinguishing manner in the present Treaty, when the King of *Denmark* is left out? Is not that Prince as much a Protestant, and as nearly Allied to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, as the King of *Sweden*; or has he appeared less firm to the Common Interests of *Europe*?

5. But to leave Foreign Affairs, and to return to our own, if they can be separated from those of our Allies? Is it not evident,

1. That the new governing Faction, who did by Mobs and Tumults, &c. seize the Administration, pack a Parliament to their purpose, and have since imposed upon Her Majesty, do by this Treaty, think to secure themselves a Power by the Assistance of the House of *Bourbon*, to compleat the Ruin which they have already begun of all that is dear to us, as Men and Christians. Can we in *Scotland* doubt of this, when we see our Highland Popish Clans list'd in these Men's Pay, that most of the small Remainder of Power that was left in our Country by the Union, is put into the Hands of *Jacobites*, and that Oaths are imposed upon our Church, on purpose to perplex and divide us. Sure this can't be deny'd, since we all know, that they were acquainted with the Scruples that many of our Ministers had against the *English Acts* referred to in that Oath; and yet they would not admit of the least Explanation for the Removal of the said Scruples.

2. Is it not plain, That under their Influence, and by their Direction, our Fundamental Liberties, and the Protestant Succession, which was settled to preserve them, have been, and are every Day attacked by Addresses, Libels? &c. Is it not demonstrable, that the grossest Doctrines of Tyranny and Popery, such as Indefeasible and Hereditary Right, and Irresistibility of Princes, with the Necessity of a constant Succession of Diocesan Bishops, of all Ecclesiastical Administrations by Priests, Episcopally Ordain'd, of Auricular Confession to them, Absolution from them, and of Propitiatory Sacrifices offered up by them, instead of the LORD's Supper; have invaded the Pulpits of the Church of *England*, and bid Defiance to the Censures of the Parliament and Convocation?

3. Is it not as plain, That by the Avowed Principles of those Men, not only all the Dissenters in *England* and *Ireland*, are Unchristen'd, but all the Foreign Protestant Churches,

Churches, with the Church of *Scotland*, into the Bargain, are Unchurch'd; and that they have undermin'd the latter, contrary to a Solemn Treaty, by their Toleration and Patronage Acts, in order finally to destroy Her, and make Her a Sacrifice to Erastian Prelacy, Will-Worship, Jacobitism, and Flagrant Immorality?

4. Then, as to our Trade, which was the principal Bait to make us swallow the Treaty; Is it not plain from the Multitude of Addresses daily offered to the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, that our Commerce is likewise sacrificed to the Interest of *France*? And is not *Scotland*, notwithstanding the Peace, which ought to lessen our Expences, made subject to a new and ruinous Tax upon Malt, tho' some of our worthy Members argued as well as Men could do, against it? This is so plain an Indication of the Hatred the Managers have to our Country, as sufficiently justifies the noble Effort of our *Scots* Lords and Commons to acquaint Her Majesty, that they will move for a Bill to dissolve the Union, which we have found by sad Experience to have been manag'd to our Ruin, instead of our Improvement; and are like to find it more so, if ever the Duty on Salt be levied, which is now to commence in a little time.

Thus, Sir, I have given you my Reasons why I cannot join in a Thanksgiving for the Peace, as being just and honourable, according as we are enjoyned by the Proclamation to do.

I come in the next place to consider your Reasons for the contrary Practice. And,

1. That we are enjoyned to it by the Civil Authority, which, as you justly observe, is owned by the Church of *Scotland*, to have a Power of appointing Thanksgivings and Fasts, on proper Occasions.

But then, you must own, That according to our Constitution, the Church ought to be consulted in those Matters; especially when Religion is concerned, as it certainly is in the present Case. You know as well as I, That had the Representative of the Church of *Scotland* been consulted in this Matter, they would naturally have objected, 1. That as they were never acquainted with the Negotiations and Terms of the Peace, they could not prostitute so solemn an Ordinance, as that of giving Publick Thanks to GOD in their Congregations, by implicit Faith, this being no Part

of

of the *Reasonable Service* which the Gospel Institution demands from a Christian Church.

2. They would probably have enquired into most of the things hinted at above, that preceded, accompanied, and follow'd the Treaty, and which had come to their Knowledge by the ordinary Course of Intelligence, tho' not by Order of the Government.

3. That they would have desired time to consider, whether the giving of publick Thanks for a Peace so circumstantiated, was not a manifest Mocking of GOD, to whom they had so frequently returned Thanks by Authority for the Success of the Confederate Arms, which put us and our Allies in a fair Way of obtaining those things which we prayed for, and that seem now in a great Measure to be given up by the present Treaty to the Common Enemy, against whom we both fought and prayed.

4. That they would have seriously considered, Whether they could offer Thanks to GOD, for a Treaty that invests the Common Persecutor of the Reformation with a greater Power than ever to destroy Liberty and Religion, which are the greatest Blessings we can receive, in order to make us happy in this World, and that to come. It must needs be very strange in us to thank GOD for such a Peace as exalts the French King, after we have prayed long, and that too by the Concurrence of the Civil Authority, That GOD would humble him, and reduce his exorbitant Power.

5. They would probably have desired Time to examine, Whether the present Treaty was not carried on, as the other Allies alledge, by Fraud and Force, in manifest Violation of the Publick Faith, which was plighted to them by solemn Treaties and Promises from the Throne, and by the Concurrence of Parliament.

6. They might have reasonably objected, That it would be very hard to impose such a thing upon the Church of Scotland, when they knew that the Treaty, as above circumstantiate, was disliked by all their Protestant Brethren abroad, and by the greatest and sincerest Body of Protestants at home.

7. Is it not plain, that this Matter ought to be thorowly canvassed, before we presume to joyn in a Thanksgiving for a Peace, in Opposition to which, all the Protestants of Germany, and particularly the Illustrious Family of Hanover, upon

upon whom the Entail of our Crown is settled, are resolved to venture their Lives and Fortunes. Should we by our Practice condemn them as Fools, and wreath the Yoke about their Necks, without first hearing what they can say for themselves?

8. You must also allow me to say, that since the General Assembly of our Church declined giving Thanks to the Queen for the Peace, which I suppose proceeded from some of these Reasons, it would look very undutiful, or at least disrespectful in her particular Sons, to join in a publick Thanksgiving to GOD, for what their common Mother did not think fit to thank the Queen.

Your second Reason is, that a publick Thanksgiving was observed for the Peace of *Reswick*, which you think was worse than that obtained by the present Treaty.

But the Answer is ready:

1. That GOD did not then give the like Success to the Confederate Arms, as he did by the last War.

2. That if giving publick Thanks was a Fault then, it will not justify the commission of another now.

3. That it is certain, the House of *Bourbon* was not left in possession of such an Exorbitant Power by that Treaty, as by this; nor were we then in such Danger by the Pretender, as at present; the Insolence and Power of his Faction being much increased since that time, and his Claim not in the least countenanced by those who were then in the Administration.

4. There was no such Opportunity then, as now, for his Friends to be brought or get into Parliaments, of which we had then two separate ones to oppose him; whereas now we have but one, and that very oddly constituted, as is but too well known and felt by the whole Island.

5. There was no such well founded Complaint of the Breach of Publick Faith on our part in that Treaty as in this, nor was it carried on by those whom we had any reason to suspect to be Enemies to the common Liberties of *Europe*, to the Protestant Religion and Succession, to the Establishment of the Church of *Scotland*, to the Toleration in *England*, or to the Civil Liberties of the *British* Dominions.

6. It cannot be said, as has been mentioned already, that the Honour of the *British* Crown, as Guarantee of the Edict of *Nantes*, was neglected to be asserted at that Treaty; nor was our Government under such a Necessity now, as then, to put an end to the War, before the just Ends of it were obtained; for no Man alive can say, but under the late Ministry the Subjects of *Great Britain* did cheerfully venture their Lives and Fortunes for obtaining a Just, Safe, Honourable, and Lasting Peace; which we had a fair Prospect of commanding; but who raised the Tempest that drove the Ship from the Harbour as she was ready to drop Anchor, is too well known to be repeated. Yet this may be said, that the most inveterate Malice can't charge it upon the Bulk of the People of *Great Britain*; so that the Blame must lie somewhere else, which GOD in His due time will find out, and avenge.

Your third Reason is, that the *Dutch* have observed a Thanksgiving for the Peace, and that no body will doubt their Governors to be good Protestants, as well as good Patriots.

To this I answer,

1. That no Humane Practice is to be our Rule.
2. That their Circumstances and ours, are not alike; for they were forced to it by our usurping and imperious Faction, who have forced that Treaty both upon the *Dutch* and us; and concluded it without previously laying the Articles before the Parliament, tho you know the contrary was solemnly promised.

3. The *Dutch* being thus forced to comply, may justly, according to their own Proverb, *Thank GOD when their Leg is broken, that 'tis not their Neck*. And tho 'tis true, that we ought in the same manner to thank GOD, with respect to our selves; yet it will not follow that we can lawfully thank GOD in the Terms of the Proclamation for a Just and Honourable Peace, when we have so much cause to think it is neither.

Your fourth Reason is, that the Proclamation threatens such Punishment as her Majesty can justly inflict upon all such as shall contemn or neglect the Observation of the Thanksgiving.

To which I answer,

1. That

1. That no Penalties can be adduced for an Argument, where the Question is about the Morality of the Practice in debate.

2. By what Statute or Common Law in *Scotland* can Punishment be inflicted upon the Ministers of this Church, for not observing a Thanksgiving appointed by Proclamation?

3. Where there is no Punishment to compel, what should induce us to a voluntary Obedience to this Proclamation, where the Grounds therein given, will not warrant the Practice enjoined, as has been already proved, and wherein the manner of the Imposition is not so agreeable to our Constitution, according to which, our General Assembly, or her Commission, is her Majesty's great Council for Affairs that are Ecclesiastical in their nature.

You know that in all the Struggles which our Nation has had with the Court since the Reformation, about Religious Affairs, we have ever pleaded, that nothing ought to be imposed upon our Church, without being previously considered and determined by a General Assembly, freely chosen, and left to act with full Liberty: So that according to this Principle, which is certainly agreeable to that Liberty with which our Saviour has made all his Disciples free, I cannot see that the Ministers of this Church are any more obliged to observe a Publick Thanksgiving in a controverted Case, without the previous Advice and Appointment of a General Assembly, or their Commission, than the Civil Magistrates are obliged to obey any dubious Order of State that is not founded on an Act of Parliament, or issued by the Advice of some other Court that is authorized by the Constitution to take Cognizance of such Matters.

I understand, that some Men think to cover themselves, by purposely absending from their Churches on that Day, or by keeping it, and saying nothing of the Peace; but how unbecoming such Dissimulation with GOD and the Government, in a point of Solemn Worship, will be in a Minister of the Gospel, let any Man judge. If they think the Peace bad, it is their Duty to abstain from every thing that seems to approve it; and in my Opinion, their very assembling of the People on that Day, according to a Proclamation read for that end, must in all reasonable Construction,

fruition, be taken for an approbation of the Peace, except they preach against it; and this would be by their Words to contradict their Practice. Besides, I humbly conceive, it would be as great a failure in point of Prudence and common Justice, as in point of Sincerity: For tho' our Ministers preach by Divine Authority, yet since they are empowered to do it in our stated and national manner by one that is Humane, from which they have Protection and Maintenance, they ought to be as cautious in condemning, as in approving Publick Transactions from the Pulpit, in a controverted Case, like this, till the matter has been regularly considered and determined in the General Assembly, or their Commission.

Thus, Sir, I have delivered my Thoughts to you with that freedom and Plainness as becomes an honest Son of the Church of *Scotland*, when he takes the matters of GOD to be concerned; for in that case, we are to call none Master but Himself. However, I hope there will be Care taken on both sides, that Difference of Sentiments in those things, may occasion no Breach of Christian Charity or Communion. I hope, particularly, that you will not censure me, nor those of my Principles, for not joining in a Publick Thanksgiving, against which we have so many plain, and as we think, unanswerable Objections. If you and your Friends have better Reasons for the contrary, you would do well to impart them, for the Satisfaction of the Publick; otherwise I am afraid that the Aversion which many good People in this Nation have to you and them, for taking the Oath of Abjuration, will every day grow more, instead of growing less; for they observe with too much Justice, that no body in this Nation rejoices in the Peace as now concluded, but Papists and Jacobites, whose causes of Joy, are always causes of Sorrow to us. And tho' I am of opinion, that we are, with *Job*, to express a thankful Submission to GOD in those Dispensations of Providence which are afflicting, having a view to his Sovereignty, in doing what seems good to Himself; and to his excellent Mercy, in ordering all things for the Good of his People; yet since he has appointed Solemn Thanksgivings for publick Blessings, and Fasts upon the account of our Sins and Judgments; To observe Thanksgivings for the Latter, and Fasts on account of the For-

mer, would be to thwart the Nature and Ends of those Institutions.

I shall conclude with my earnest Advice and Request to those Ministers who are against the Oath, and observing the Thanksgiving-Day, that they would not act so much below the Dignity of their Character, as to countenance the Separation of Parochians from their Ministers on either of those Accounts; since according to all the Rules of the Gospel, and Common Order, Causes of Separation must be such as the Scriptures determine on that Head, and when 'tis controverted and dubious in its own nature, puts a stop to private Judgment, until it is determined by the Judicatories of the Church: Those who act otherwise, ought to be put in mind of what the Apostle says, *If any Man be Contentious, we have no such Custom, neither the Churches of God.* Which I hope you will allow me to say does very plainly imply, that those who are so apt to separate from, and to unchurch others upon such slender Accounts, are in very great Danger of unchurching themselves. We have had a great deal too much of this already, and since our Common Enemy waits for our halting, and lays hold of every Opportunity to divide, in order to destroy us, we ought to take care not to be made the unhappy Tools of doing their Work for them.

GOD seems in an eminent manner to have been present with our General Assemblies, in directing them to healing Methods and Councils at this present juncture. Let not then any Presbyterian be found guilty of disobeying their Orders, at a Time when their Authority is so much trampled upon, and when the Common Enemy despise her so much, that they send out such little Foxes as *Duckat*. &c. as thinking them strong enough to break down the Walls of her Discipline and Government.

P O S T S C R I P T.

IF it is offered as an Argument for the Observation of this Thanksging, That Peace is a good Thing, and that every Battle of the Warriour is with confused Noise, and Garments rolled in Blood; and that therefore we should thank GOD for obtaining the one, and being delivered from the other: It's easily answered, That if the War was Just and Necessary, as the Ministers of this Church have owned in all their solemn Fasts and Thanksgivings, since the Commencement of it, then the Continuance of it was Just and Necessary too, till we should attain the Ends for which it was made; especially when Providence blessing our Arms with so much Success, gave us so fair a Prospect of ending gloriously, what we warrantably undertook; And to bless GOD in a solemn Way, for what appears to us to be the Sin of our Governors, and a Judgment on our People, is to overturn the Ends of that solemn Appointment; and is ought still to be remembered, That it is not Peace in the general Idea of it; but this Peace, as safe and honourable, for which we are commanded by the Magistrate to observe a Thanksgiving.

If it is alledged, That this Peace might have been worse, and that it is not so, is Ground of Thanksgiving: This would justify a Thanksgiving for any Event whatsoever, that can fall out unto Men in the Land of the Living, since it is the Mercy of GOD they are not consumed; yet it must be owned, that there are many Events, for which a solemn Thanksgiving would be a Profanation of that sacred Ordinance, which, as it is apprinted of GOD, so is appointed for its own proper Season, and therein must be observ'd; and if one falling from a Precipice, should be commanded by them who tumbled him down, to observe a Thanksgiving for what had befallen him; he had, I own, Reason to bless GOD, for having only broken his Leg, when his Neck was in danger: Yet, to cause him observe a Thanksgiving not for the Escape he made, but for the Fall he received, would be tyrannical on their part who impos'd it, and the Sin and Folly of him who should obey it. I must say, That its neither agreeable to the Duty,

ty, nor conducive to the Reputation of a People, to cause them observe solemn Thanksgivings for the several Steps that are made to their Ruin, and so obtain the solemn Consent of the Sufferers to them, till the finishing Stroke comes, by which their most valuable Interests are cut off.

It will perhaps be said, That there are good things in the Articles of Peace, and that these claim the Duty of Thanksgiving for them: To which it is answered, That it is not for these good things we are called to Thanksgiving, but for the Peace it self; and how far this in the Substance and Tendency thereof, amounts to a solemn Ground of Thanksgiving, may be judged, by what is said before on this Head. *Benhadad* made it a part of the Treaty betwixt him and the King of Israel, *That the Cities which his Father took from him, should be restored to him; and that the King of Israel should make Streets for himself in Damascus, as Benhadad's Father had made for himself in Samaria*, which are Articles full as ample as these, that concern the giving up of *Dunkirk* to be demolish'd, &c. Yet what a mischievous Peace this was, may be judged by the Sentence pronounced thereupon by the LORD, bearing Extinction to the King of Israel and his People, *1 King. 20. 42.*

It may perhaps be objected by some against my Resolution not to joyn in this Thanksgiving, That the Church seems thereby to claim a Power of determining in the Face of the Government, and constituting themselves Judges in these publick Transactions, the Springs whereof are readily unknown to them: But this Objection will be found to bear no weight, when its considered, that the Church being a Society of Rational Creatures, must be allowed the Judgment of Discretion; and as Christians, must have a Judgment about Grounds of Duty in Religious Worship, without which they can never perform it in Faith; and when they do not interfere with the Civil Government, by assuming to themselves any Civil Authority, or putting a Stop to the Measures taken by the State in their Affairs, it's hard in it self, and no ways agreeable to the Constitution of this Church, to require an implicit Obedience from them to the Acts of State for publick Worship, and to strip them of their Natural and Religious Liberty at once; in respect whereof, they may, and ought to judge, whether the said Practice enjoyed, be Sin or Duty: And though the Springs

Springs of publick Transactions are often what they cannot penetrate into, yet when the Grounds given for the Practice enjoyed, the only thing they have access to judge of, appear too plain to them to be what cannot warrant the Practice enjoyed, it might be expected, that they should be spared in this Matter, as they were in that of the Union, (for which no Thanksgiving was appointed to be observed by this Church) or if we are not altogether exempted from it, that at least the Imposition should be delayed, till the Articles of Peace are set in a clearer Light, by giving us a fuller Account of them; and if these do not satisfy, Why may it not be forborn till the Springs of that Transaction may be laid open, by which at once the Peace may appear a Ground of Thanksgiving, and our Duty, with respect to the Observance, cleared up to the Satisfaction of our Consciences? This, methinks, would bear a far greater Appearance of Justice and Reason, than to use the Ministers and People of this Church as, the *Wheels* of a *Machine*, which must move even in Religious Matters and Solemn Pieces of Worship, whithersoever they are driven, without allowing them that Exercise of Thought, which is absolutely necessary for the due Performance of Religious Worship.

To conclude, then; When we seriously consider the Articles of Peace, as far as they are known to us; the Methods by which the Peace was carried on; the Person with whom its made, without a Guarantee; the Time when it was made, when GOD seemed to deliver our Enemy unto our Hands; the Danger in which the *German* Empire, and our *Protestant* Successor, are left; and by consequence, our own Religion and Liberty, with the Common Interests of *Europe*, with what is above represented, It must needs be very running to all Spectators, and to future Generations, who shall read it in History, That the Church of *Scotland* has given the most solemn Approbation to that Deed, that they were capable to give, or the Nature of the thing can receive,

F I N I S.

